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name of the child of the one he is addressing. In discussing anyone, great care is taken to say nothing critical or abusive concerning him before his parents or his children. One man told of a series of fights he initiated by uttering the remark, "Your father is messy around the ankles." He knew very well in advance what the consequences of that observation would be. In a Coyote story the trickster, after being skinned and jeered at for having a "red shirt," retaliates against his tormentors by shouting, "It's your father who has a red shirt!"

Despite the affection and regard which mark the parent-child relationship, it must not be forgotten that discipline and authority are the prerogatives of the father and mother. The daughter, especially, is conditioned to lifelong obedience to parental edicts.

Four terms, the equivalents of father, mother, son, and daughter, serve to express the parent-child relationship. The term for father can refer to no one else. The mother, likewise, is distinguished from her siblings. The parent-child terms differ from others of the kinship system in two particulars. First, they are not self-reciprocal; that is, the same term that is addressed to the son by the father cannot mean father when the son is speaking. Second, each term expresses one relationship only and is not extended to include collateral relatives.

Uncle, aunt-nephew, niece relationships.—Of tremendous importance in the child's life are the maternal uncle and aunt. The mother's sister is likely to be present at the child's birth. She may volunteer to nurse the baby if she has milk and the mother has not enough. She is a permanent member of the mother's extended domestic family. A girl will have intimate contact with this relative throughout life; a boy, at least until his marriage and departure from the encampment. In case the mother dies, this woman may be called upon to adopt or care for her sister's children. She may elect to marry their widowed father[11] and so become their stepmother. Or, since sororal polygyny is practiced, if she is younger than her sister, she may become the second wife of her sister's husband and, by a different route, attain the

[11] See pp. 421–25.

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[604] position of stepmother to these youngsters.[13] Her very closeness [587] to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked to- [595] gether since childhood, establishes her interest in the develop- ment of her sister's children. The chances are that she will per- [431] form protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them [574] food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home, and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

[881] At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give gen- [584] erously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may [583] furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his [868] bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the in- struction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficien- cy. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants, it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

[591] Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the [574] child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encamp- ment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home. [596] At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved [602] acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of [851] avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking. Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[601] [13] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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There is a good deal of restraint 604 •
between the mother and her brother, for siblings of opposite sex, 593
especially after puberty, must show great respect and decorum
when they are together. Consequently, the maternal uncle best [834]
shows his affection toward his sister by the interest he takes in
her children. There is frequent reference to his instruction of his
sister's child, especially of her son, to his economic help at many
of the crises, and to his constant friendly contact with his nieces
and nephews. There is always the possibility that the mother's
brother will marry an unrelated woman from the same local
group in which he has grown up and will continue to live near his
blood relatives.

Mother's siblings are addressed by one term, a self-reciprocal. 601
Thus the mother's brother, the mother's sister, the sister's son, 604
and the sister's daughter are all subsumed under the same kin-
ship term. In a secondary sense this term may be addressed to
other relatives, to any cousin of the mother, no matter how dis-
tantly related, and reciprocally to any female cousin's child.

In normal circumstances the father's sisters and brothers will 604
never be members of the same extended family as the child, [596]
though they may be living in the same local group or vicinity.
Since their primary ties are with other family units, they have
less contact with a child than the maternal relatives. In spite of
this, they demonstrate a lively interest in him. This is particu-
larly true of the father's brother. As long as brothers inhabit the [593]
same camp they are inseparable, and their interest in each other
and in the family line does not cease at marriage. Brother's chil-
dren are blood kin, and such kinship imposes a solidarity which
cannot be denied. "H. is my brother's daughter. No matter
how far away she is, if I am sick she comes and helps around
camp. But I have helped her as much as she has helped me. I
feel that those related in this way should show a lifelong faith-
fulness to each other in any emergency and all the time."

The fate of brothers is further linked by a levirate arrange 593
ment which entitles an unmarried man to take his deceased 587
brother's wife and place if he and his relatives so decide. This 604
means that a man may in time become the stepfather of his

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brother's children.[13] At all the significant occasions when the maternal relatives offer personal or economic assistance the father's brother contributes also.

The father's sister normally has a family and duties of her own, her brother has passed from the extended family to which she is attached, and the sororate-levirate forms can have no effect upon her future position in respect to her brother's offspring. But the restraint relationship which has existed between this woman and her brother implies lifelong consideration. No better way of responding to this exists than generosity toward the brother's children. Moreover, a man who is in difficulty with his affinal relatives, angered over his wife's behavior, or divorced is likely to return to the extended family in which he was reared. His sister is one of the members of this social group, and her counsel is of great moment in the formation of decisions. These strong ties of consanguinity are felt by the woman to include her brother's children as well.

One term means father's brother and father's sister and is extended in use to include father's cousins, male and female. The same term, used as a self-reciprocal, designates a brother's child and, in an extended sense, a male cousin's child.

Brother-sister and cousin relationships.—The terminology employed to express the sibling, cousin relationship departs in principle from other sets. There are two self-reciprocal terms in use, but, unlike the other kinship terms, they imply sex difference or similarity between the speaker and the person addressed. *Šikis* literally signifies "sibling or cousin of the same sex as myself," and *šilah* carries the force of "sibling or cousin of the opposite sex from myself." Thus, when a woman says *šikis*, she is speaking of a sister or female cousin; when a man uses the same term, he has in mind a brother or a male cousin. Conversely, when a man says *šilah*, he is referring to a sister or a female cousin, and when a woman employs the same term, she is indicating a brother or a male cousin. The *šikis* term can be said to link relatives of the

[13] In that case a stepfather-stepchild term may be substituted for the father's sibling term (see n. 12, p. 56).